204 to keep down the price of all publications so that they can be more readily available to larger numbers of readers. At the same time, Communist authorities in Southwest China are following the national practice of making the newspapers self-supporting. The reason of the move is not only economy, but the belief that if the papers are sufficiently "popularized," they will have enough support from the masses, making government subsidy unnecessary. By October 1951, offici reports showed that except three dailies -- the North Szechwan, South Szechwan, Sikang -- all the newspapers in this region had been paying their own bills.[12]

C. Magazines, Pamphlets, and Books

1. Reorganization of Publication and Distribution

204 214 In pre-Communist days, publication of magazines and printing of books were, in most cases, two separate enterprises. Local magazines were operated by private groups and printed in local printing plants found in such larger cities as Chengtu and Chungking in Szechwan Province, Kunming in Yunnan Province, and Kweiyang in Kweichow Province. National magazines were distributed through local book stores. There was little book printing done in this region until the Sino-Japanese war when many eastern China publishers moved west. Many national book publishers had branches in Southwest China. Most notable of these were the Commercial Press, and the Chung-hua, Shih-chieh, K'ai-ming, Sheng-

12. New China Daily, Chungking, Oct. 1, 1951, p.

huo, Erh-t'ung, and Cheng-chung bookstores. Shortly before the Sino-Japanese war started, the Communist New China Bookstore also began to establish branch outlets in this region.

After 1949, the Communist policy for the publishing industry was "centralization and specialization." Publishing facilities were centralized, and each consolidated firm was required to specialize in one field of publication. National distributors were established to handle the sales. With publication and distribution clearly divided, the Communists believed that it would then become possible to control the entire publishing industry by means of a rigid quota system. In Southwest China, control of publication and distribution rested with the Cultural and Educational Mission. Extensive merging eliminated the majority of small publishers. The official New China Bookstore played a leading part in reorganizing the larger ones. The existing branches of formerly independent national publishers followed the policies of their headquarters in North and East China and effected a complete overhaul of management and personnel policies. Most of these publishing houses entered into partnership with government interests. By July 1950, the New China Bookstore already had in this region seven branch offices and thirty-two stores, all directly responsible to their regional headquarters in Chungking.[13] The number of branch stores of this firm increased rapidly to sixty-two in this region

13. Compendium of Government Reports, p. 1002.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF16

214 by the fall of 1951.[14]

Following the announcement by the Government Administration Council in Peking on August 16, 1952 of the "Temporary Regulations for Control of the Publishing and Printing Industries," and the "Temporary Directive on Registration of Periodical Publications," authorities began to tighten their control in Southwest China on the publishers. All publishers, regardless of the fact of whether or not they had already been cleared for operation, had to register once again with the government.[15] The penalty for failure to do so before October 12, 1952 was immediate suspension. At that time the branches of the New China Bookstore in this region had already increased to seventy-nine. In addition, there were forty-one branches of the People's Bookstores on the hsien level -- meaning that at least forty-one out of a total of 382 hsien in Southwest China had one People's Bookstore each.[16] The People's Bookstores are outlets for the official People's Publishing Company.

The official plan for 1953 called for the increasing of New China Bookstore branches in this region to 129, and of the People's Bookstores, to 191. There is no report on whether this plan has been fulfilled or not, but a survey of 1953 announcements in the press of Southwest China shows that at least the following book publishers were selling their products in this region:

14. New China Daily, Chungking Oct.1,1951.
15. Ibid., Chungking, Oct.6, 1952, p. 4.
16. Ibid., September 30, 1952, p. 3.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China
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Table 7, Book Publishers Advertised in Southwest China 1953 */

Name	Specialization
Hsi-nan Ch'ing-nien Ch'u-pan-she [Southwest Youth Publishing Co.]	Youth
Hsin-hua Shu-tien [New China Book Store]	All Subjects, with preponderance on political
Hsi-nan Kung-jen Ch'u-pan-she [Southwest Workers' Publishing Co.]	Technical, popular readers for workers.
Hsi-nan Jen-min Ch'u-pan-she [Southwest People's Publishing Co.]	All subjects
Hsin-ya Shu-tien [New Asia Book Store]	Technical, sciences
Lung-men Lien-ho Shu-chü [Dragon Gate Associated Bookstore]	Textbooks on natural sciences
Shang-wu Ying-shu-kuan [Commercial Press]	Technical, sciences

[continued next page]

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF16

Table 7. [continued

Name	Specialization
Kuo-chi Shu-tien [International Bookstore]	Translated works
Jen-min Chiao-yü Ch'u-pan-she [People's Education Publishing Co.]	Education
Chi-hsieh Kung-yeh Ch'u-pan-she [Mechanical Engineering Publishing Co.]	Mechanical Engineering
Ssu-ch'uan Jen-min Ch'u-pan-she [Szechwan People's Publishing Co.]	All subjects

*/ Compiled from New China Daily, Chungking, January 1953 issues.

Obviously Table 7 does not represent an exhaustive list, but the fact that those listed were advertised in the leading regional newspaper indicated the importance of these publishers. On January 15, 1953, the Southwest Youth Publishing Company was disbanded and its function consolidated with the central Youth Publishing Com-

214 pany in Peking. The New China Bookstore had the largest number of branches throughout the region. The Southwest People's Publishing Company, established as a branch of the People's Publishing Company in Peking, was abolished in early 1953. A combined office of the Peking People's Publishing Company and People's Education Publishing Company was set up to handle for this region the publications of these two national institutions.[18] The People's Bookstore, which had numerous branches in this region, merely served as a distributor and was not the publisher. All the publishers listed in Table 7 were branches of national publishers. There is no information on whether at present there is any publisher in Southwest China that operates independently from Peking and exclusively for this region.

2. Quantity of Publications

There is no information on the total quantity of publications produced and sold in Southwest China before 1949. After the reorganization of book publishers and distributors, the New China Bookstore reported in July 1950 that during the first half of that year it printed 4,764,000 copies of 149 different titles. In addition, the store and its branches in this region sold 1,850,000 copies of text books and 1,110,000 books, pamphlets, and periodicals published by government-approved concerns. The San-lien Bookstore, jointly operated by government and private interests, sold 278,000 books and 198,000 magazines from January to June 1950.[19] No statistics are available on sales

18. New China Daily, Chungking, May 23, 1953, p. 4

19. Statistics from Compendium of Gov't. Reports, p. 1002.

214 by small independent bookstores still in operation at that time.

Rapid expansion of book distribution in this region was claimed by the Communists when in October 1950 they reported the publication of 469 titles totaling 12,250,000 copies since "liberation." The bulk of these publications was printed to serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers. As has been mentioned under the "newspapers" section, the presence of large numbers of troops engaged in road construction in western Szechwan Province augmented the demand for reading material. Consequently attention was focused on publications suitable to member of the armed forces. The above statistics do not indude textbooks which constituted a separate category. The same Communist officials claimed that during a six-month period in 1951, over 24,000,000 copies of textbooks were printed in this region. Compared with the 1950 record, a six-fold increase in text book output was claimed.[20]

The increase in book distribution continued. By fall of 1952, the progress during the past three years was traced as follows:

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20. Figures in this paragraph are from New China Daily, Chungking, October 1, 1951, p. 3.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF16

Table 8. Publication and Distribution in Southwest China */

Period	Books Published Titles	Books Published Copies	Books Published Titles	Books Published Copies	Number of Copies Distributed
Jan-Dec. 1950	149	4,764,000	---	---	13,000,000
Jan-June 1951	469	12,250,000	---	---	20,000,000
July-Sept 1952	196	37,986,000	---	---	17,000,000
Total	814	55,000,000	66	11,000,000	150,000,000

*/ New China Daily, Chungking, October 1, 1951, p. 3; September 30, 1952, p. 3; Pei Kuan-chin T'ieh-mu Hou Ti Hsi-nan [Southwest China Behind the Iron Curtain], Taipei, The Sixth Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1954, p. 19.

214 The figures in Table 8 are all based on Communist claims, and they have to be examined with caution as exaggerations may be involved. One thing does emerge quite clearly from them. The Communists in Southwest China are relaying on national publishers to supply books, and official attention is concentrated on distribution. The figures for "number of copies distributed" in Table 8, therefore, do not reflect the quantity of books and magazines "printed" in Southwest China; a good portion of the items sold in this region are apparently shipped in from North or East China. Some sources even say that "no major publishers in this area are permitted separately to publish any books."[21] While this may mean that most of the publishers in Southwest China are reprinting books prepared by national publishers, it does not preclude the possibility of some publishers still continuing to print items of regional interest with government
204 approval. A survey of available sources reveals that the following regional publications were available in Southwest China in 1953:

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21. Szechwan under Communist Rule, loc.cit., (p. 27).

In addition to those listed in Table 9, there were undoubtedly many more lesser regional magazines which failed to compete for attention in a regional newspaper's advertising columns. On the other hand, many major national magazines were listed, such as People's Pictorial, New Reconstruction, Study, and the Chinese version of For A Lasting Peace and For A People's Democracy. The prices listed in Table 9 may be compared with the price for rice, about JMP$700 a pound, and pork, about JMP$2,850 a pound, in 1953 in Chungking.

3. Contents and Readership

Textbook distributors, in the Southwest China Region, have been doing a profitable business. Next to textbooks, popular literature, cartoons, periodicals and pamphlets have been and resumably still are easiest items to sell.[22] One of the typical booklets is the "March on Snow Mountains toward Tibet," published by the Southwest People's Publishing Company in 1952.[23] It

22. A national survey in early 1950 showed that popular literature, with 43 titles, topped the list of periodicals then in circulation. See Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao [New China Monthly], Vol.I, No. 5, Peking, March 1950, pp. 1255-58. Another national survey in Feb. 1951 showed that popular literature, with 1673 titles, ranked first among all categories of books published from Nov. 1949 to Dec. 1950.

23. T'a-p'o Hsüeh-shan Chin-chün Hsi-ts'ang [March on Snow Mountains toward Tibet], Chungking, Hsi-nan jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1952.

214 814 is a collection of articles by different authors, as collective authorship has become a fad in Communist China. About a hundred pages is the average length of most of these booklets, and 5" x 7", the usual size of their format. A few photographic illustrations at the beginning of the work depict the "peaceful liberation of Tibet" and the scenes along the route traveled by the Communists army. The picture showing how Communists Army cadres give medical treatment to the native people is a tell-tale selection reflecting the purpose of the whole booklet. In the preface, the editorial department of the publisher states that the publication is designed to show the "greatness of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's troops, and their contribution to the Tibetan people." Depsite its minor flaws, the book seems to be well prepared, well presented, and very readable to people with a basic command of Chinese.

214 208 Subheadings such as "The Kindness [of the Communist Army] Is as Deep as the Ocean" on page 94, and "Our Tibetan Brothers and We Have Become One Family" on Page 92, need no elaboration on their propaganda slant. There is a good deal of excellent descriptive material, emotion-packed, sweeping, and touchingly vivid. An objective evaluation of such writings cannot but lead to the conclusion that the propaganda pens of trained Communist writers are skillfully used and, judging by this particular sample, the writers seem to have a sincere feeling for the subjects they are treating in the book.

204 Clues to the contents of the magazines in this region are found in their titles which often specificy the reader groups for which the publications are intended. The titles of the articles are also self-explanatory. The "Good News for Our Mother Country," in Southwest Literature, No. 13, eulogizes the achievements of Communist China; the "Hero's Blood Nurtures Flowers of Victory" in Southwest Women, No. 19, praises patriotism of the Chinese dead on Korean battlefields, thus giving consolation to their widows who may be reading this magazine at home. The "Sing and Cheer for 1953" in Songs and Verses of Yesterday and Today, No. 24, recounts Communist success in 1952 and entertains a rosy prospect for the new year. The Popular Pictorial in its first 1953 issue is loaded with news photographs, showing, of course, the promising side of every subject,and "New Year" paintings designed for the readers to clip off and use for decorative purposes. These paintings are a good propaganda medium of which a fuller discussion is presented in the chapter on "Artistic and Intellectual Expressions."

• 214 208 Are the people in Southwest China reading these books and pamphlets? According to Table 8, about one out of four persons during the first half of 1951; and about one out of two persons bought three copies during the period of July 1951 to September 1952. This is better than the records available for both Central-South and East China for the same periods. (In Central-South China,

214 about one out of ten persons bought a copy during
208 the twelve months from September 1949 to August 1950. In East China, one out of eight person bought an item during April-November 1950.) Again, these figures may reflect gross exaggerations for propaganda effect. Anti-Communist press reports have given accounts of how the mainland people bought books and newspapers under duress.[24] Some of these reports may have factual bases as the Communist cadres, intent on carrying out Peking's orders, abused the book promotion program by cajoling the people into purchasing the publications. Nevertheless these cases did not involve the minority of the book buyers. Three days before the third volume of Mao Tse-tung's Selected Works appeared in Chungking bookstores, the New China Bookstore posted an advance announcement. According to the Enlightenment Daily of Peking, "crowds of readers rushed to the New China Bookstore in Chungking at the break of dawn on April 10, 1953 to await their chance to buy the book."[25]

Such manifestations of enthusiasm on the part of the book buyers may not be a common occurrence in Southwest China, as the Communists would like to have the world believe, but undoubtedly the books are read and understood at least by the literate segment of the population. Among the [illegible] peoples in western Szechwan and southwestern Yunnan, books printed in their own languages have been rare. Consequently, Communist books printed in such languages have little

24. Szechwan Under Communist Rule, p. 27.

25. Enlightenment Daily, Peking, April 11, 1953, p. 1.

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208 difficulty in finding eager buyers.[26]

4. Libraries and Cultural Centers

217 In order that financial strain may not curb the people's desire to read, the Communists in Southwest China have designed and established small libraries throughout this region to serve the workers, farmers, and shopkeepers. Librarie already in existence in larger cities were reorganized in 1949. According to anti-Communist reports, the original collections at these old libraries were all destroyed by the Communists and restocked with propaganda pamphlets. The Communist press admitted a wave of book burning in 1951-52.[27] However, that cultural disaster was said to have most seriously affected Central-South China and, to a lesser degree, East China. There has been no specific report on book destruction at any particular place in Southwest China. The small libraries established by the Reds numbered thirty-eight, with a total of 3,255,000 volumes by September 1952.[28] About twenty of those libraries were found in Szechwan Province.

368 The cultural center is a version of the Communist cultural palace on a smaller scale. Both are provided for Communist-conducted cultural activities such as discussion group meetings, political rallies, and reading classes. The larger

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363 26. There is no information on the exact scope of distribution of books printed in minority languages in this region. However, it has been Peking's policy to promote such distribution wherever national minorities are found. In 1951, a

[continued next page]

368 ones have facilities for showing motion pictures. Most of them have enough space for reading rooms. In September 1952, there were 294 such cultural centers open to public in Southwest China, and they were claimed to have been effective in educating the masses. It is claimed that in 1951, the cultural centers in northern Szechwan alone enabled over 9,000,000 people to receive "political propaganda," and that about 1,700,000 people attended reading classes there.[29] The official plan for 1952 was to increase the number of libraries to 2,500.[30] It is not known if this goal had been reached.

203 Mobile bookstores and libraries on wheels found in North and East China appear in Southwest China in a different manner. Lack of means of transportation in this region has forced the people to go on foot, and so a new term, "cultural couriers," for the people who work for the mobile bookstores and libraries on wheels, has been coined. Each courier carried two loads of books and periodicals on a pole on his shoulder, and travels on the back roads of the countryside. He brings the publications to the doors of the farmers, usually announcing his arrival with a gong. This mode of peddling is not new, but the goods peddled are. Large crowds

214 563 total of 2,200,000 copies of 176 different titles were printed in minority languages and distributed throughout China. These figures were increased to 4,300,000 and 376 respectively in 1952. NCNA Peking, Jan.15,1953, quoted in SCMP, No.493, Jan.16,1953, pp.13-14.

27. Enlightenment Daily, Peking, Jan.25, '53, p3.
28. New China Daily, Sept.30,1952, p.3.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid., Oct. 1, 1951, p. 3.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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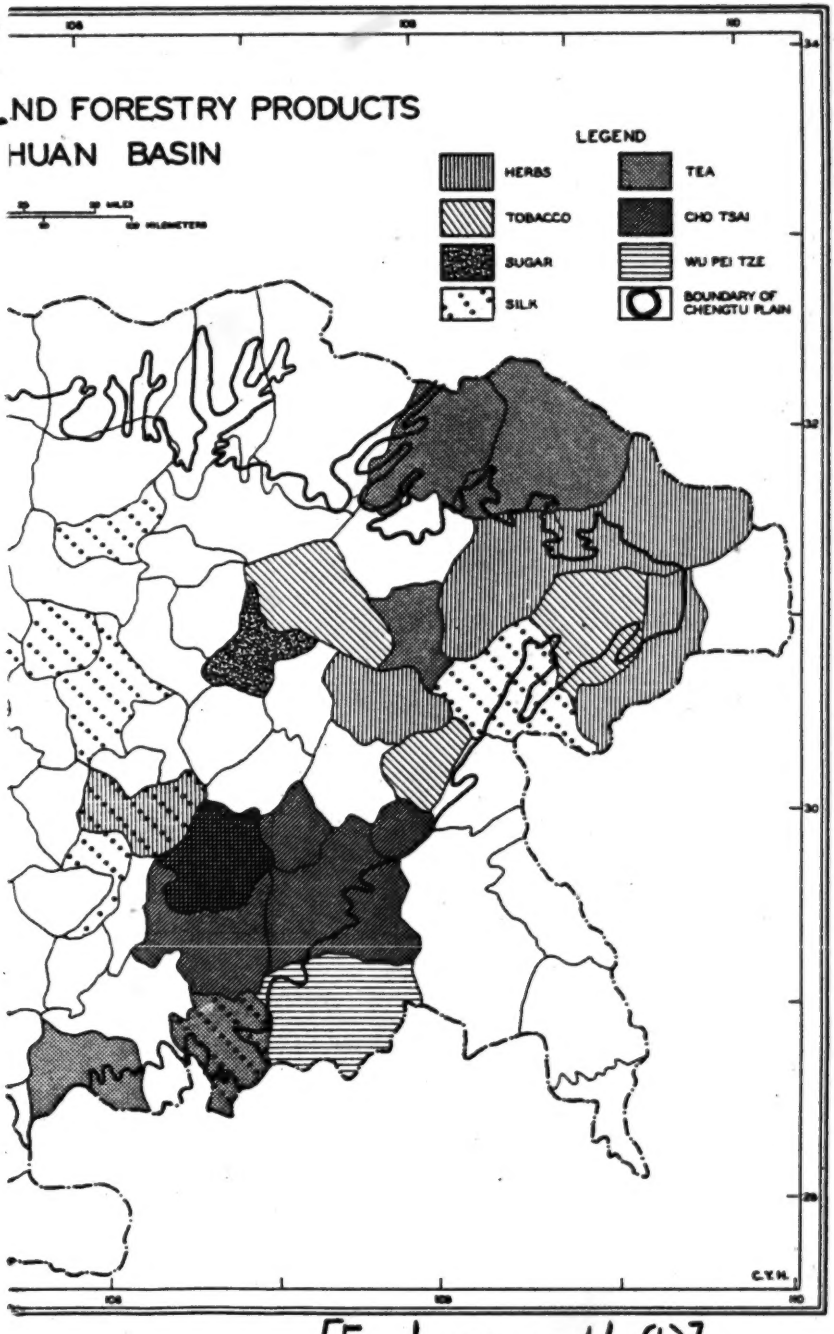

[End map 11 (b)]